

- 121 To give perspective in time and space to the Kazak material I have indicated the possible
121 course of development of comparable social institutions among the Mongol tribes. In so
doing I have relied chiefly on the work of Vladimirtsov.⁷

From the Kazak and Mongol material, supplemented by information from other groups, it has seemed permissible in conclusion to postulate certain general tendencies which appear to have been active in the formation of Turco-Mongol social structure. It must be emphasized, however, that the interpretations which I have ventured to make are to be considered only as a working hypothesis based on inadequate and incomplete material whose value must be tested by future investigations. More new problems have arisen than there have been solutions found to old ones.

000 Among those in America to whom special acknowledgements are due are my teachers, Dr. Edward Sapir and Dr. Leslie Spier, for aid and encouragement over many years. I am grateful to Professor George Vernadsky for numerous helpful suggestions. My obligations to friends in the Soviet Union are many. I am particularly indebted to the administrations of the Institute of Anthropology, Ethnography and Archaeology of the USSR Academy of Sciences, in Leningrad, and of the Kazakstan Base of the Academy of Sciences in Alma-ata. It would be presumptuous to thank Elizabeth E. Bacon who has shared the field work, research and writing.

- 115 Field work was considerably hampered by police regulation of the movement of foreigners in Kazakstan which restricted me to the town of Alma-ata and its immediate vicinity. Most of the information came from two informants: Umurzaq Kargabaiev and Nurqumandur Tlenchiev.⁸ The former was a man 75 years of age living on the Kalinin Kolkhoz, a collective cattle farm about twenty kilometers from Alma-ata, which occupied part of the land formerly used by Kargabaiev's tribe of the Great Orda. He was well known in the Alma-ata district as a poet and musician and for his knowledge of Kazak traditions, genealogies and epics. He spoke only Kazak. Tlenchiev, 23 years old, came from a branch of the Little Orda in the southern Urals and was a student at the Pedagogical Institute in Alma-ata. His knowledge of Kazak culture was extensive but as regards the former social organization, mostly second-hand. He naturally evaluated old Kazak life in terms of the Marxist philosophy in which he had been educated so that his information must be weighed accordingly. He spoke Russian and acted as interpreter for me with Kargabaiev.⁹ There were numerous other occasional informants, members of the Kalinin Kolkhoz and students of the Pedagogical Institute who took part in discussions as they happened to be present. In a somewhat different category was Professor S. J. Asfendiarov, president of the Kazakstan Base of the USSR Academy of Sciences and author of a history of Kazakstan. Although a

⁷ Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*.

[55] ⁸ The second names are really patronymics used as family names with the Russian termination. Thus Tlenchiev's father was named Tlenchi.

⁹ The fact that discussions had to be carried on in a language in which neither the interpreter nor the ethnographer was particularly proficient is regrettably but unavoidably reflected in the quality and quantity of some of the information.

HUDSON: KAZAK SOCIAL STRUCTURE

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Kazak by birth he was educated in Tashkent and St. Petersburg and his feeling for Kazak culture is more academic than personal. To him, however, I am indebted for many valuable suggestions. 115

From my informants I have derived the general concept of Kazak social groups, as discussed on pages 17 to 22 which I have not found explicitly stated elsewhere. Of published accounts the most useful has been that of Grodekoy¹⁰ which, though primarily a study of Kazak common law, contains much valuable material on tribal organization. An analysis of Grodekoy's work in French by Dingelstedt¹¹ has been rather artificially systematized from the point of view of European jurisprudence but I have cited it where it seems to conform to the original. 127 114

The classic accounts of Levshin¹² and Radlov¹³ have been the basis of all subsequent work among the Kazak. Particularly useful information has been furnished by the work of Kharuzin,¹⁴ Somolovich¹⁵ and Rudenko.¹⁶ Other sources are included in the bibliography.¹⁷

It has been impossible for me as yet to cover all the material relating to Kazak culture. Only a fraction of the published accounts is available in America and even in Soviet libraries it is frequently difficult to find many articles. For suggestions of the most pertinent sources I am indebted to Academician A. N. Somolovich of the Orientological Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The most complete bibliography of publications relating to the Kazak is that compiled by Vonesenskaja and Piotrovskii.¹⁸ A list of bibliographies of historical and ethnographical material dealing with Central Asia in general has been collected by Pul'ner and Dobrin.¹⁹

In discussing Mongol social structure I have largely relied on the analysis by Vladimirtsov of material from Chinese, Mongol and Persian sources. For the early period of Mongol history, through the thirteenth century, the most important of these are the chronicles of Rashid-ad-Din and the so-called "Secret History" of the Mongols. The latter is an account of traditional history composed in Mongolia in 1240 and existing in both a Mongol and a Chinese version.²⁰ A Russian translation, to which I have referred, has been made from the Chinese text by Palladius.²¹ A partial German translation has recently been published by Haenisch.²²

¹⁰ Grodekoy, *Kirgizy i KaraKirgizy*.

¹¹ Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*.

¹² Levshin, *Description des hordes*.

¹³ Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*.

¹⁴ Kharuzin, *Kirgizy Bulunukhet Ordy*.

¹⁵ Somolovich, *Zapretnye Slova*, 161-68.

¹⁶ Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 1-72.

¹⁷ See bibliography.

¹⁸ Vonesenskaja and Piotrovskii, *Materialy dlia Bibliografii*.

¹⁹ Pul'ner and Dobrin, *Materialy dlia Bibliografii*, 146-60.

²⁰ Bartold, *Turkistan down to the Mongol Invasion*, 43.

²¹ Sokolovskii, *Slovarnik*.

²² Haenisch, *Die letzten Feldzüge Cinggis Han's*, see Pellicot, *Review*, 157-67.

1 [See cat. 116 -- Analysis]

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[178] demands to which the tenets of customary law have also been having to adapt themselves.

In 1884 I turned to the officials of the uyezd administration with the request for a collection of customary laws. But the material they sent, collected by illiterate translators, was of no value.

121 In January 1886 I made the acquaintance of A. N. Vyshnegorskii, who was a graduate of the Historical Philosophical Institute. While in service in Central Asia he had learned the Kazakh, Sart and Persian languages. At once it came to my mind to invite him to collect on the spot, in the actual nomadic camps and winter camps of the Kazakhs, by means of interrogation and transcription of the words of the biis and other well-informed persons.

In order to begin action, I turned to the well-known specialist in Central Asia, V. P. Nalivkin, requesting him to draw up a program for the collection of the tenets of Kazakh customary law. Mr. Nalivkin complied with my request, and in the beginning of 1886 Mr. Vyshnegorskii was sent into the area. He was told, among other things, to write down all the variants of the customary laws according to localities, and the names of his informants, and not to neglect any evidence, no matter how unimportant it seemed. Mr. Vyshnegorskii spent seven months among the nomads and collected so much material that it took about a year to analyze it. In addition there were dealings with the areas to fill in gaps or to explain places which were unclear. On various cases 128 judgments were taken from the biis' books for illustration of the material collected.

In this manner the present tome was compiled, comprising a code of the modern juridical customs of the Kazakhs of the Syr-Darya region.

In addition to the material of purely juridical character, historical narratives were collected from copies of ancient manuscripts preserved by literate Kazakhs, as well as heroic poems, superstitions, fables, riddles, charms and others. There is probably enough of this material for two more volumes. In view of this /vi/ the plan for the entire edition has been considerably expanded and been given a more general title: the Kazakhs and Kirgiz of the Syr-Darya region.

• 115 In the collection of the customary laws the most valuable data were furnished by the following: 1) E. A. Aleksandrov, assistant to the chief of the Kazalinsk uyezd, by birth a Siberian Kazakh from the Kokchetav mountains, who has a good knowledge of the Kazakh language and is acquainted with the everyday life of the Kazakhs.

2) Kadyr Absaliyamov, translator for the administration of the Chimkent uyezd, a Tatar by birth, who has lived in Turkestan for a long time and was by earlier profession a merchant, a supplier of provisions to armies, and a maintainer of a post road. He had learned customary law not from occasional accounts of biis but from constant dealings with the people, from the decisions of biis and from complaints, in general directly from life. 3) Torgai, a Kazakh of the Oshakty clan, a driver by profession, who has seen Orenburg, Troitsk, Vernyi /Alma Ata/ and other places. He is now engaged in agriculture in the Kurama uyezd. 4) The Kirgiz bii Kurpetai Dauletkulov. 5) Bii Abd-rakhman, of the Auliye-Ata uyezd. 6) Bii Sultan Kanaev, of the Chimkent uyezd. 7) Sultan Daulet Bushaev, from among the Tiuri of the Perovsk uyezd. 8) Sagyndykov, bii of the Chimkent uyezd and others.

N. Grodekoy

Tashkent
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[147 cont.]

175 Kirghiz [-Kazak] hordes by order of Empress Anna, and induced
648 them to submit themselves to Russia. Later, as we shall see
below, he was for a long time a member of the Orenburg Com-
mission. In following government orders, he was in constant con-
tact with the Kirghiz [-Kazak] khans and sultans. He knew their
language thoroughly and kept a journal of the oral conferences he
[15] had with them. He says, in one of these journals, written in
1748, that Abulkhair, khan of the Little Horde, and Abul Mahmet,
khan of the Middle Horde, and the most distinguished sultans had
informed him of their genealogies.

We will place the three charts which we have composed
at the end of this work.

175 The first chart shows us that Djadek, one of the two
643 founders of a line, was the father of Shigai Khan, whose son was
Ishim, the same one whom, as we mentioned earlier, was khan
[21] of Turkestan when he waged war against the kungtaidji of the
Dzungar and to whom Abulgazi Baiadur went to seek refuge.

It is easy to prove that this Ishim is not some other unknown
Kazak khan, for Abul Mahmet, who gave Tevkelev this
genealogy (1) and called himself the [148] great-grandson of

1. Abul Mahmet wrote the same thing
about his origin to Prince Urusov, on
July 19, 1740. See the archives of
the Orenburg Border Commission. With
two accounts as certain as this, we can
assure our readers [148] that the
Siberian Herald /Sibirskii Vestnik/ of
1820, on page 114 of the article on the
Kazaks, is wrong in calling Abul Mahmet
the son of Kuchiuk.

Ishim, was born at the end of the 17th century, as can be seen
from many writings and other papers of this time. If we go
back from this prince to his father, his grandfather, and so forth,
we will find that Ishim in his youth and Djangir at a mature age

[301 cont.]

643 adopted the names of the Great (1), the Middle, and the Little
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1. The other hordes regard the Great Horde as the oldest.

161 Horde. Tradition also has it that the difference in population of
631 the groups was caused by war and varying success, and as the divisions gradually increased, each one divided into several descent lines which took the names of their chiefs or kept the names of their ancient ancestors, such as the Naimans, the Kipchaks, etc. The descent lines were subdivided in turn into tribes, and the latter into sections, the sections into branches, and the branches into parts. It is almost impossible to enumerate all these subdivisions. The work necessary (2) for such an enterprise would

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2. What zeal and love for genealogy one would need to have to decide to verify and examine the reports of the Kazaks! One says that his tribe is divided into five or six sections. Another asserts that it is divided into twelve. A [302] third confuses the sections of his tribe with those of the neighboring tribes. Finally, a fourth, who is more honest than any of the others, frankly admits his ignorance.

require too much patience and, above all, a long sojourn among the Kazaks, not only in every tribe or section, but also in every part of a section.

621 Thus we will limit ourselves to enumerating the descent
631 lines and the tribes, beginning with the Little Horde, as the
611 closest to Europe. We base ourselves on Tevkelev's memoirs
114 written more than a century ago. (See the historical section [not translated]). In the opinion of the Kazaks themselves, the information contained in these memoirs is worthy of the greatest confidence, both by their precision and by the circumstances under which they were written.

Chapter 8 COMMUNICATION

121 One of the assumptions on which this study is based is that the Kazakhs of Soviet Central Asia are a potentially receptive audience for American psychological warfare. Information gained from the study would seem to support this assumption. Such information could be used to infer psychological vulnerability areas of the target population. But one can do little in the area of vulnerability content—vulnerable to what, under what conditions?—without knowledge of the communication process as it takes place within the target population. In practical terms, before determining what is to be said, the problem of how and through what channel it is to be said in order to reach the given target should be considered.

For this reason, a general discussion of communication conditions in Soviet Central Asia seems appropriate.

LINGUISTIC CONDITIONS¹

147 The languages of Turkestan may be divided into three general groups: Turkic, Slavic (e.g., Russian, Ukrainian), and Iranian (e.g., Tadjik).

Since the Kazakhs are a Turkic people, attention will be focused on this group. The major Turkic-speaking peoples are (1) the Kazakhs, Kirgiz, and Karakalpaks, (2) the Uzbeks, and (3) the Turkmen. Uzbek and Turkmen are definitely separate languages, but those of the "three K's" are so similar in their spoken form that they may be viewed as dialects of one language. The following comparisons may benefit readers more familiar with European languages: The relationship between Kazakh and Kirgiz or between Kazakh and Karakalpak is roughly similar to that between the Czech and Slovak languages, or between the Danish and Norwegian.

In geographic areas where related languages have existed side by side, transitional strips may be found where the dialect spoken by the population has been clearly influenced by the language of their neighbors. The chief difference between the speech of the Karakalpaks and that of the Kazakhs, for example, is that the former language replaces initial "t" by "d" and "k" by "g". This feature is characteristic of Turkmen,

¹Much of the material on linguistic conditions is based on a discussion with Dr. N. N. Poppe of the University of Washington.